Staff

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Laurie Rojas

SENIOR EDITOR
Spencer A. Leonard

PRODUCTION EDITOR
Sunit Singh

EDITORS
Edward Remus
James Vaughn
Josh Rome
Nathan L. Smith
Nunzia Faes

COPY EDITORS
Houston Small
Sophia Freeman

PROOF EDITOR
Thomas Willis
Tamas Vilaghy

DESIGNER
Frederik R. Heinz

WEB EDITORS
Evan Odell

SOCIAL MEDIA EDITOR
Matt Cavagrotti

Statement of purpose

Taking stock of the universe of positions and goals that constitutes leftist politics today, we are left with the disquieting suspicion that a deep commonality underlies the apparent variety: What exists today is built upon the desiccated remains of what was once possible.

In order to make sense of the present, we find it necessary to disentangle the vast accumulation of positions on the Left and to evaluate their saliency for the possible reconstitution of emancipatory politics in the present. Doing this implies a reconsideration of what is meant by the Left.

Our task begins from what we see as the general disenchantment with the present state of progressive politics. We feel that this disenchantment cannot be cast off by sheer will, by simply "carrying on the fight," but must be addressed and itself made an object of critique. Thus we begin with what immediately confronts us.

The *Platypus Review* is motivated by its sense that the Left is disoriented. We seek to be a forum among a variety of tendencies and approaches on the Left—not out of a concern with inclusion for its own sake, but rather to provoke disagreement and to open shared goals as sites of contestation. In this way, the recriminations and accusations arising from political disputes of the past may be harnessed to the project of clarifying the object of leftist critique.

The *Platypus Review* hopes to create and sustain a space for interrogating and clarifying positions and orientations currently represented on the Left, a space in which questions may be raised and discussions pursued that would not otherwise take place. As long as submissions exhibit a genuine commitment to this project, all kinds of content will be considered for publication.

Submission guidelines
Articles will typically range in length from 750–4,500 words, but longer pieces will be considered. Please send article submissions and inquiries about this project to: *review_editor@platypus1917.org.* All submissions should conform to the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

The *Platypus Review* is funded by:
The University of Chicago Student Government
Dalhousie Student Union
Loyola University of Chicago
School of the Art Institute of Chicago Student Government
The New School
New York University
The University of Illinois at Chicago
The Platypus Affiliated Society

"The statements, opinions, and ideas conveyed in this program do not necessarily express the position of the University of Illinois at Chicago."

The Platypus Review

Issue #104 | March 2018

1 **1917–2017**
Sam Brown, Jonathan W. Daly, Franklin Dmitryev, Greg Lucero

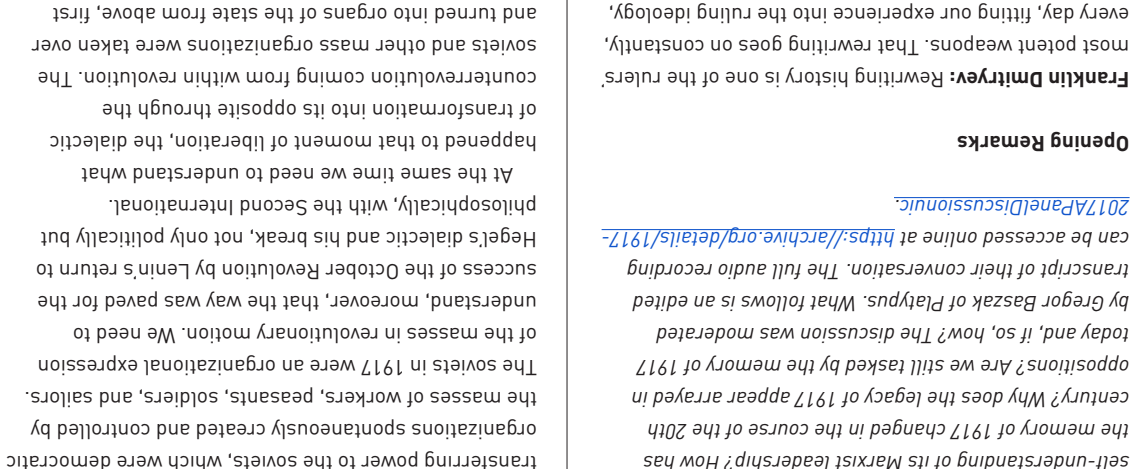
2 **Women's March: An islamophile intervention against women's rights**
Tina Sanders

www.platypus1917.org

104

1917–2017

Sam Brown, Jonathan W. Daly, Franklin Dmitryev, Greg Lucero



Storming of the Winter Palace on 25th October 1917 by Nikolai Mikhaylovich Kochergin.

On November 6, 2017, the Platypus Affiliated Society held a panel discussion at the University of Illinois at Chicago on the 100th anniversary of the October Revolution. The speakers were Jonathan W. Daly (Professor of History at UIC and author of The Watchful State: Security Police and Opposition in Russia, 1906-1917), Franklin Dimitryev (News & Letters), Greg Lucero (Socialist Party USA), and Sam Brown (Black Rose/Rosa Negra). The speakers were asked to respond to the following questions: What were the aims of the 1917 Russian Revolution? What was the self-understanding of its Marxist leadership? How has the memory of 1917 changed in the course of the 20th century? Why does the legacy of 1917 appear arrayed in oppositions? Are we still tasked by the memory of 1917 today and, if so, how? The discussion was moderated by Gregor Baszak of Platypus. What follows is an edited transcript of their conversation. The full audio recording can be accessed online at https://archive.org/details/1917-2017APanelDiscussionuic.

Opening Remarks

Franklin Dmitryev: Rewriting history is one of the rulers' most potent weapons. That rewriting goes on constantly, every day, fitting our experience into the ruling ideology, above all, that there is no alternative to capitalism.

The Russian Revolution has been subject to the most strenuous rewriting both by ruling class ideologues and by various tendencies on the Left, whether reformist or revolutionary.

From the proof that revolution can succeed and the working class can attain power, the magnificent events of 1917 have been turned into the fable of the straight line of historical development from Lenin to Stalin. The fable's moral is that revolution must fail, that any attempt to overthrow capitalism necessarily ends in tyranny, that a class dictatorship of the proletariat necessarily turns into the dictatorship of one party against the working masses.

We need to understand that the February Revolution was made by the historic initiative of the masses—first of all by the women workers on International Women's Day—and that the October Revolution was spearheaded by a party led by Lenin and Trotsky, but the revolution itself was made possible by the self-activity of the masses, supported by the masses, participated in by masses, and carried out with the explicit aim of transferring power to the soviets, which were democratic organizations spontaneously created and controlled by the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, and sailors. The soviets in 1917 were an organizational expression of the masses in revolutionary motion. We need to understand, moreover, that the way was paved for the success of the October Revolution by Lenin's return to Hegel's dialectic and his break, not only politically but philosophically, with the Second International.

At the same time we need to understand what happened to that moment of liberation, the dialectic of transformation into its opposite through the counterrevolution coming from within revolution. The soviets and other mass organizations were taken over and turned into organs of the state from above, first partially due to the exigencies of the civil war started by the old ruling classes and the imperialist countries, but, with Stalin's rise after Lenin's death, they were permanently and totally statified. The direction of economic development was turned around—away from improvement of the conditions of life and labor and the involvement of the toiling masses in the management of production and the state and toward capitalist industrialization and forced collectivization of the peasants—with no freedom and no voice for either workers or peasants.

It is not only the rulers who bury this historical transformation of revolution into its opposite. The rulers and reformists want to discredit revolution altogether, but they have been aided by Stalinists who portrayed the resulting totalitarian state capitalist system as if it were socialism, as if that monstrosity were the goal we should aim for. And no solution to that rewriting can be found in the Trotskyist formula that the USSR remained a workers' state because of nationalized property and state planning. That evades the dialectic of counterrevolution emerging from within revolution, as does the anarchist doctrine that Russia was immediately state-capitalist the day after the October Revolution. The same goes for the council communist doctrine that echoes the Mensheviks' claim that Russia at that time could only accomplish a bourgeois revolution.

That dialectic of transformation into its opposite, that fundamental contradiction, the failure to confront the vital question of what happens after the conquest of power—this explains why oppositions are inherent in 1917's legacy.

What is needed is to recover that legacy as a ground for revolution today, as a ground for the fundamental transformation of all social relations—establishing new relations between the sexes, breaking down racism, sexism, and heterosexism, and putting the working class in power so as to begin the breaking down of class divisions as well as the division between mental and manual labor. But 1917 is needed also as a ground for understanding what happens after revolution so that it is not transformed into its opposite, with a new bureaucracy taking power out of the hands of the masses and reinforcing the division between mental and manual labor.

This requires fighting the rewriting of history. This is not simply a question of correcting the facts, as we should understand from the past two years. Nor is the struggle over history just to establish that I am right and someone else is wrong. Rather, the issue is one of setting the truly revolutionary ground of liberation as the ground for thought and activity. That entails being grounded in a total view, that is, philosophy.

We need philosophy not in an academic sense but as a guide to action in changing the world. We need a philosophy of revolution. Recovering 1917's legacy for today crucially includes recovering that role for philosophy. You cannot understand the Russian Revolution without grappling in detail with Lenin's philosophical preparation for it, his rethinking and break with his own philosophical past through a return to Marx's roots in Hegel. When World War I broke out, the Second International collapsed because most of its member parties supported the war, siding with their ruling classes. Lenin was so shocked that he thought at first that it was fake news. But then, while the war was raging and while he was struggling from exile in Switzerland to rally genuine revolutionaries around impliacable opposition to the socialist betrayers, Lenin advanced the slogan "Turn the imperialist war into civil war." In the same period, Lenin spent days on end in the library studying Hegel. He found the revolutionary dialectic in Hegel, the transformation of reality as well as thought. That study set the stage for a new approach in both theory and practice, as is seen in his major works such as *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and in his very approach to revolution from April 1917 onward.

Lenin's "April Theses" revealed a fundamental clash about the aims of the revolution. In April 1917 even most of the Bolsheviks wanted to take part in the Provisional Government formed after the Tzar was ousted in February. Lenin, however, urged the party to demand a new International, an end to World War I, and all power to the soviets as a "commune state." If the party rejected his proposals, he threatened to quit and "go to the sailors." On one side was Lenin with the Bolsheviks he could persuade, demanding all power to the soviets as rule of the masses from below; on the other side were the rest of the Bolsheviks and the other parties looking to the Provisional Government's rule from above.

It was as late as August 1917, during a counterrevolutionary phase when Lenin was forced to hide, that he elaborated in *State and Revolution* the theoretical necessity of smashing the state and taking power. One major obstacle to comprehending the legacy of Lenin in 1917 is what Raya Dunayevskaya called his "philosophic ambivalence," Lenin's own self-understanding of leadership. While Lenin's philosophical reorganization was crucial to his leadership in the revolution, his statements regarding the centrality of philosophy were muted at best. Lenin's writings did not reveal the depth of his break with his own past.

What he did not rethink was the vanguard party concept he inherited from the Second International. As a result, it remained a doctrine for all who called themselves Leninists, eventually becoming a fetish. It is nothing but a barrier to revolution today.

Today what demands our attention and action if we hope to realize the potentiality of revolution as an act of the historical initiative of the masses in motion from below is the intervention of the philosophy of revolution to give action proper direction. The point is to abolish the capitalist system, which is suicidally driving us toward climate chaos, nuclear war, fascism, and economic depression.

Jonathan Daly: I want to explain how the Russian Revolution actually unfolded. I agree completely with Franklin that the February Revolution was a popular movement. All sorts of people came out into the streets, including women, workers, and soldiers. Crucially, it was a soldier's mutiny. Not until the soldiers went over to the side of the revolution did the Tzar feel that he had to abdicate. This was partly due to the pressure from generals who wanted to keep on waging the war.

The Provisional Government comes to power along with the Petrograd Soviet. The Petrograd Soviet

"1917–2017" continues on page 3

"1917–2017", cont. from page 1

represents the workers. It is staffed at the highest levels by socialists. The Provisional Government has all members of the liberal elite along with one socialist, Kerensky. They basically all agree that the old system has to go. So the Provisional Government dismantles the police apparatus, gets rid of the political police and the regular police, empties prisons, and grants amnesties for revolutionaries who had been incarcerated. The masses themselves go out into the street and break open prisons, and all kinds of ordinary criminals come out. The Provisional Government abolishes the death penalty together with all sorts of restrictions on civil rights. In early March the Soviet issues its first order, Order No. 1, which undermines the authority in the military, because the idea is that the military officers had been despotic towards the soldiers and that the soldiers should have more rights and authority within the system—importantly, they should control weapons, and officers should have no access to weapons. All of this undermines the ability of the military to function, right? So the repressive police apparatus is gone. The military's chief purpose is no longer to put down strikes and unrest.

One question is, how did people see this? There were a hundred different ways. Religious people want freedom of the parishes; the soldiers want their own dignity; the workers want workers' control; and the peasants wanted to claim land—in the countryside they are chopping down trees, they are seizing estates, dividing land up among themselves in an egalitarian fashion.

Over the summer, basically the grassroots take control. But they are also in the middle of a war. There is an attempt by Kerensky to repeat the success of June 1916 with the Brusilov offensive, but it fails miserably, at which point people come out into the streets. The Provisional Government puts out information it has that Lenin has received payments from the Germans. This makes him look like a traitor and he has to go into hiding. There he writes *State and Revolution* where he talks about how everything is going to be run by ordinary people. Meanwhile, the economic situation deteriorates further and the war—the initial cause that launched the February Revolution—is still not going well.

Criminals are coming out into the streets to cause mayhem. People are upset. They want someone to restore order and it seems like the only people that are able to are the Bolsheviks. And they promise great stuff—peace, land, bread, all power to the soviets—the most wonderful political slogans. The people, mainly the ordinary people in the major cities, Moscow and Petrograd, support the Bolsheviks in the elections to the local town councils and to the soviets. So, by the time you get to October the Bolsheviks are riding high and, in principle, they should be able to dominate the soviet.

But Lenin and Trotsky do not trust the masses. They seize power *in the name of the masses*, but actually create a dictatorship. Other Marxists did not want to go along with Lenin and the Bolsheviks, because it made no sense in terms of Marxism. In terms of Marxism, you have to have stages of development and Russia was a backwards, agrarian, peasant society. How can such a society make a socialist revolution? But Lenin saw an opportunity. He saw there was chaos and that the masses were disgruntled, and he suggested it was possible to make the transition to socialism immediately. He wins over the masses and his own party members because they are upset, but, when they come to power, they are no longer sharing power with anyone other than the left Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs), a splinter faction of a pro-peasant party. Then those guys leave in March 1918. Practically from the first, the Bolsheviks are creating a new political police. They reinstate capital punishment, establishing it as part of their process of governance.

They are committed through Marxism to abolishing private property and the free market, right? But, if you do that, you have to run the whole system yourself. The market functions to deal with people's exchanges, like peasants producing grain—they bring it to market, they sell it for money, they buy a tool with that money, etc., etc. Millions of such transactions happen all the time. The market is decentralized; you do not have to run it all at the centre. With Lenin and the Bolsheviks every aspect of the economy has to be run at the centre, which creates this huge bureaucratization. By 1922 Lenin was freaking out—What's going on? Why is there so much bureaucracy? Why do we have to sign fifty forms to get a replacement leather jacket for such and such comrade? Meanwhile, the civil war is ongoing. War communism seems to require them to confiscate grain from the peasants, causing the peasants to turn against the Bolsheviks. Even the workers turn against the Bolsheviks. No one likes them because they are not doing what they said. But they said impossible things—peace, land, bread. Anyway, Lenin expected a civil war. It is not the outside bourgeoisie that is bringing it. Lenin himself knew from the very outset that the old classes would oppose the Bolsheviks tooth and nail. So, Lenin is going in expecting a civil war. Of course, if you do not share power with anyone except the proletariat (and you claim to be their voice), how on earth are you not going to have a civil war?

So the civil war breaks out. At the same time, starting in 1919, the Bolsheviks are trying to export revolution through the Comintern, which freaks out everybody in the capitalist countries. The story of the rise of fascism and Nazism is intimately connected to this because Mussolini and Hitler looked at what was going on in Russia and they said, "Look this is a great danger, we are going to protect you from these maniacs." This is largely what brought first Mussolini and then Hitler to power. It created the tensions in the world that led to the Cold War.

The Bolsheviks expect that they are going to transform the world. They are going to create a classless society that is going to unleash all the potential of all humanity. Marx thought that capitalism was the most progressive system ever devised, but that it was unfair. Lenin's socialism is going to be even more progressive, unleashing still more power, wealth, and innovation. But in order to radically transform everything, they had to wipe out, push away, and undermine the other systems that existed at the time, be they traditional pre-modern systems like in Central Asia of the Soviet Union or be they capitalist countries in the West. They had to fall. That was obviously going to create tension in the world.

In 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed a lot changed. Many of my colleagues who were once so adamant about studying the Russian Revolution suddenly forgot about it. Because it failed, it was no longer interesting to them.

Is it still relevant? Well it is still relevant because so many aspects of world history since 1917 were brought into play because of the Bolshevik Revolution. That list includes, I would argue, fascism, Nazism, the Second World War, and the Cold War. One sixth of the world's land mass, Russia, which was very much on a very positive trajectory, was set backwards—really by Stalin, but by Lenin as well. Two million people die in the famine in 1921–22 and at least another five million in that of 1932–33. These were absolutely man-made famines caused by Bolshevik policies.

Greg Lucero: My two colleagues have laid out a history of the Russian Revolution. I will address some of the issues they raise, but there is still a description of the Russian Revolution that needs to be given.

Lenin is fighting the sellout Mensheviks. Of course, we have to keep in mind that Lenin has personal rage over the death of his brother, impelling him to seek revenge against the Tzar, who killed his brother. And then there's the bloody repression of infantile anarchists, who, for their part, rise up against Lenin's rapidly growing state capitalism. And then you have the power play by the power-hungry, traitorous Trotsky, who was a Menshevik until the last minute. At the same time, a little known Georgian, a bloodthirsty idiot by the name of Joseph Stalin is screwing up everything in the Caucasus. From this mess, we can see clearly and distinctly that only a state capitalist authoritarian nightmare could grow out of it.

The solution is, if everyone would have done everything different, we would have had universal peace, land, bread, an anarcho-Marxist-Stalinist commune, whatever.

You may say, that is ridiculous. And it is. What you notice is the keywords of certain sects of Marxism. And there are anarchists who are like, "This was our shot, but the Marxists came around and ruined it." And what do the Marxists say? Well, it was not really a shot anyway, we had to do what we did, etc. And so the "history" of the Russian Revolution is determined by the perspective you come from.

The question is, what does the Russian Revolution mean to us today? I'm going to take a different approach, the one of Walter Benjamin. What Walter Benjamin said is that we must have hope for the sake of the hopeless. Every time I think of Donald Trump in the White House, I know how hopeless we are. The fact of the matter is, we are living in dangerous times. And then there is this fetishization of a story, and it is a story. Yes, we can talk about the power of narrative, about how we need to bring up suppressed narratives. That is fine. But what we are ultimately talking about is political action to stop the destruction that capitalism has wrought.

And what does the Russian Revolution teach us? The question is one of power. Everything else is second to that. And whatever anarchists want to say about it, they do not solve the problem. Whatever defense Trotskyists, Stalinists, the "real" Marxist-Leninists give on that, that is the start. We can want all sorts of other things after taking power, but unless a party or a group of individuals is able to make substantive change, they are wasting everyone's time.

I would encourage anyone to look up Alain Badiou's *Being and Event*. This revolution, this Russian Revolution—it is not solved today. The fact of the matter is, we select. We say, "this was part of the Russian Revolution, this was not." And that is an active choice, a political decision that we make. Even today, when we say "evil Stalin," "evil Trotsky," "well, in the material conditions," "Lenin did not realize this or that," we are saying, this is valuable, this is not.

Very common today, of course, is the wholesale disavowal of the Russian Revolution. But I think it was good. Why? Well, just as a noncontroversial issue, they stomped the hell out of the Nazis. Okay, we can talk about that further elsewhere, but let's just say that. So, that is something. The collapse of the Soviet Union means that the truth of Lenin, of revolution, of one hundred years ago—it is closed. So, where does the Russian Revolution leave us today? It leaves us with Trotskyism, Marxism-Leninism, whatever. They say they have the truth, but where is it?

So what the Russian Revolution teaches us today is these debates. The true message of the Russian Revolution is that it can arise, and it depends on the fidelity that one seeks to revolution. But this does not a body of knowledge make. No one is Lenin, right? No one here is Marx or Mao. This is something that people need to hear, people need to say. And this, the 100th year of the Revolution, is when we should take that as an absolute truth and carry on with it, building something new while remembering our history.

Sam Brown: Let me start with a quote by Aleksandr Blok, a Russian poet who witnessed the Revolution, just to give a sense of what it felt like, what it meant to be in a revolution. He said:

> The duty of the artist is to visualize what's only been pondered, to hear the music that vibrates in the turbulent air. Change everything. Renew everything. Let the falseness, the filth, and the weariness of our life disappear, and let it become free, just, pure, and beautiful. Whenever such desires which fill the souls of the people break down the dams and gush out with the force that wastes away whole sections of the shores, then we behold the revolution. Anything less, anything more moderate is rebellion, revolt, insubordination. Only this is revolution. Revolution is related to nature. It is like a blizzard or typhoon, always different and always unexpected. It can drown good men, it can wash up the evil, but these are only the details. They do not change the direction of the storm or its ear-splitting din.

He wrote that in January 1918.

Here is a quote from an educated peasant in the northern provinces about similar feelings that he witnessed among peasants:

> Just two or three revolutionary concepts purified by the martyrs' sacrifice reached out with invisible hands and touched the heart of the people. Words like "The earth is the Lord's, all land belongs to the entire people. Change everything, however long it may take." These words have struck deep roots among the peasants in our land. And on this simple word "everything" they've played infinite variations. It meant that no longer would there be sin, but the golden axle of the universe would take a turn toward the sun of truth, that the body would no longer bend beneath the yoke of drudgery.

These were the things that were in the air in Russia at the time. Russia had already gone through a revolution that was not successful in overthrowing the Tzar in 1905, but you could say the revolutionary sentiment, feelings about the word *revolution* itself, the magic behind that word, go back all the way to when the French imported it with their invasion in the Napoleonic Wars. But it was finally in February 1917 when the dams broke. It was the masses of the people that sparked the revolution. Of course, as was mentioned, it was the soldiers who guaranteed it, because, when they met the crowds of tens of thousands in Petrograd, rallying, screaming, rioting, they joined them. They were not going to be going to war anymore; they had already suffered long enough. The tzarist aristocracy was falling apart, and that is when everything began.

It happened in the countryside, it happened in the cities—there was a mass movement. The peasants took over the land and redistributed it as they had wanted to for decades. Usually they had these traditional mirs, communes, where they would sort this out in a traditional way. These traditional communes had somewhat gone away by the time of the Stolypin reforms of 1906, but 1917 brought them back in a large way. The peasants started redistributing the land themselves. They did not need any go-ahead from any government, though they were later to get it.

Here is an account from Ufa in the Ural mountains about this process when they were deciding exactly who gets to work the land in their province. This is from Isaac Steinberg:

> At the end of 1917 as a member of the town soviet I participated in the first peasant conference there. Hundreds of delegates, both Russians and Tatars were rejoicing in the honeymoon of liberation. They were discussing the principles of land socialization. Impossible to describe the awesome, almost sacramental atmosphere in which the issue was debated. They approached the question of who should have the right to work the local soil. The peasants in the province of Ufa only or the peasants of all Russia? At this point a delegate named Turetsky rose to take the floor. "Why the peasants of Russia only?" he demanded. "What about the working people of other lands who suffer and languish in misery? Why not they too?" His words struck the hall like a thunderclap. Everywhere men jumped to their feet shouting "That's right! Of course! Everyone should have the right! Let them all come! Let them work with us together!" The delegates looked at each other with shining eyes. They knew then that they were refashioning the world.

A lot of these things are confirmed, as far as the peasants go, in the Third Peasants' Congress of January 1918 in Petrograd. Here are some resolutions that they passed, and listen at the end especially : (i) The land passes without compensation from the landlords to the use of the entire working people. (ii) The right to use land belongs to those who work it with their hands, to those, that is, who do not employ hired labor. (iii) The right to the use of land cannot be restricted on the grounds of sex, religion, nationality, or citizenship. (iv) All manner of property in land, whether minerals, waters, forests, or other natural resources, is forever abolished within the borders of the Russian Federation of Socialist Republics.

All property is abolished. And this was actually originally just meant to signify private property. But, actually, through debates they decided on property as such, including specifically state property. They abolished all property in land, at least at this congress on paper. It was a fait accompli in the countryside. The peasants were already redistributing the land. Most of the land had already been redistributed by the time the October Revolution comes around and makes it a legal reality.

Factory committees were the urban equivalents of what was going on in the countryside. Russia had a small urban population, but, nevertheless, a lot of the same communal spirit was to be found among the urban population as was to be found in the countryside. People took over the factories in cases where the management had left or had given some resistance to them forming committees. In other factories the committees would just put forth certain specifications on how the work was to be done, and in some cases they took over hiring and firing. But in any case, the idea that some single individual could have private ownership of a factory that employs thousands of people and make all the decisions about what happens there rather than people who work in it themselves was abolished. Gradually, these spread throughout the entire society. It was also almost all from the initiative of the masses. Before the Edict on Nationalization of June 1918 that the Bolsheviks came out with, five hundred factories had already been nationalized. Of all these five hundred, only one hundred had been nationalized at the command of the central authorities. Everything else had been done by some sort of local group.

Another example of mass power during this revolution is the Kornilov Affair. The Kornilov Affair was when the Provisional Government was almost overthrown by General Kornilov, who wanted to establish his own dictatorship for the sake of prosecution of the war. For that reason he conspired with supporters in Petrograd and sent troops from the front. What immediately happened was telegrams were sent out from the Provisional Government to railway workers all along the railroads. They stopped every single train that was coming in along the rail lines to Petrograd. Those trains were met by delegates coming from the city, from the factory committees, from the soviets—which I have not mentioned yet but you might know about, neighborhood- or district-based and also city-based on the higher federated level, direct democratic organs where people made decisions in a democratic way about all kinds of things—they sent out delegates to these trains and they converted the troops in many cases. In some cases the officers that were with the troops leading this attempted coup were arrested right then and there.

Just to reiterate, this is not the work of any single party. Everything that is going on between February and October, there are parties in the mix, but, at the beginning in February, the Bolsheviks are almost entirely unknown. But gradually they do become known, especially because the moderate socialists are not seen as pushing the revolution forward and are in fact seen as supporting the potential dictatorships of Kornilov and Kerensky.

In October, the Bolsheviks take power. They do it for reasons I mentioned. They establish a workers' and peasants' government which, as was mentioned, is nowhere to be found in Marx—it is not a Marxist idea at all. Indeed, the idea that Marxists are leading this revolution is pretty interesting, because they were also in the Provisional Government that was being overthrown. So Marxists were all over the place. I do not think they were ever consistently supporting mass power. Anyway, the Bolsheviks were able to manipulate the situation enough to get into power.

So, when the Bolsheviks come into power they made a lot of promises: "All power to the soviets!" was one of their slogans. Of course, that is not what the people ended up with. Let's listen to what Lenin said about it. "All power to the soviets," Lenin explained, means that the entire power of the state,

> from the lowest to the highest realms, from the remotest village to every single ward in the city of Petrograd must belong to the soviets [direct democratic organs] of workers, peasants, and farm laborers. The new state will represent a higher type of democratic state, a state which, as Engels states, ceases to be a state, is no more a state in the proper sense of the word. This is a state of the type of the Paris Commune, which replaces the army and the police forces apart from the people with the armed people. The officialdom, the bureaucracy are replaced with the direct power of the people or are placed under their special control, becoming only elected deputies, ones which can be removed at the first popular demand.[1]

So, that is what he said about it. In fact, if you think about it, he is describing a kind of anarchist society. Of course, it is not at all what he sets up. The Bolsheviks rule according to expediency, which means maintaining rigorous terror over the population and a bureaucracy.

Also a slight digression regarding Lenin's economic vision. If we go back to the quotes I gave from the peasants and also think about the factory committees, in short, with the masses taking over the land, the factories, everything productive, with there no longer being an unproductive class of parasites leeching off of their labor, what sort of economic vision would you possibly have for such an emancipated society? Just think for a second of a vision for an emancipated economic system. Who thought the wartime economy of Imperial Germany? That was Lenin's model, that was his favorite. There was a lot of potential there. Too bad about the Bolsheviks and all that.

Responses

FD: One thing that I wanted to bring forward is the question of the counterrevolution developing from within the revolution. That is not something that can be easily dismissed by saying that that is due to one political group or one political view, because this is actually a dialectic present in all revolutions, and, if you are not prepared for it, it is going to overtake you. Now it is very easy for people who do not really favor revolutions at all to try to discredit someone by saying "you promised too much." The Bolsheviks promised peace. The Provisional Government was not giving it, but when the Bolsheviks after the October Revolution made a treaty with Germany, the Socialist Revolutionary party did not like the treaty, because it gave too much away to Germany. But the Bolsheviks were the ones who were ending the war immediately. So, no, it was not an unrealistic promise. Land was not an unrealistic promise. The Provisional Government was inhibiting the peasants from taking the land. After the October Revolution the gates were opened. It was already happening, as Sam said. It is not that it is led by a party. That is not my view, though perhaps you thought it was. The peasants had already been taking the land, alright? But the October Revolution released that potential, freed it from the inhibition of the Provisional Government. So, to say that they are promising too much is what happens with every revolution. You are always going to face that kind of opposition that tells you "you cannot have a revolution" or "you can only have a limited revolution. Do not try for it all." That is one of the lessons we need to unlearn from this.

I think maybe some of the nuance that I said about the party was missed. I agree that it would be wrong to say that the revolution was led by a party. This was my criticism of Lenin's concept of the vanguard party, which I think opened some way to the transformation into opposites. One of the problems of the view, not just of Lenin but pretty generally within these Marxist parties, is that they tended to assume that the party represents the working class's will and interest. There are times when it does, when masses of workers come into the party and make it the expression of where they want to go, but there are other times when the party moves backwards. Lenin said it himself: At a certain point, after a couple of years after 1917, the rank and file of the party is ten times more revolutionary than the leadership, and the masses outside the party are ten times more revolutionary than the party. So, consider that when you hear the myths about what Lenin

"1917–2017" continues on page 4

"1917–2017", cont. from page 3

represented and what Lenin thought and when people try to tell you what Marxism did or did not represent. Regarding this idea that Marxism says that you have to go through certain stages, well it was Marx himself in the introduction to the Russian edition of *The Communist Manifesto*, who said the revolution could happen in Russia first, but it needed to be complemented by proletarian revolution in the West.

JD: I did not mean to say that the Bolsheviks were promising too much *per se*, but that, in terms of what they believed, they could not fulfil their own promises. That is to say, so long as Lenin believed that a civil war was inevitable, then, of course, peace was not possible. And, as long as he felt that war with the outside world with capitalist encirclement was inevitable in the long term, then peace was not possible. Insofar as Lenin believed as a Marxist that private property or even communal property in land was not allowable in the long run, then, of course, the peasants could not really own the land the way they wanted to. They wanted to own it themselves.

But I would say that the more important problem I have with the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik visions is the fact that the Bolsheviks did not believe in institutions. The Bolsheviks did not believe in what are called bourgeois institutions, and neither did Marx. Constitutions, parliaments, representatives, representative assemblies, civil rights, all of that stuff exists simply for the purpose of the bourgeoisie's exploitation of the masses. If you believe that, then you have to throw all of that stuff out. Accordingly, when the Bolsheviks came to power they abolished the entire independent judiciary. Now, in our society our Constitution guarantees the autonomy, the independence of the judiciary. My colleague moments ago was talking about Trump and the dangers of Trump at this time. Now where would we be without an independent judiciary in this country? I ask you.

The Bolsheviks abolished the independent judiciary, independent trade unions, independent universities—all sorts of institutions that could limit their power. But the progressive development and narrative of Western political theory is the limiting of authority and power—checks and balances and all of that stuff. If you are a Marxist in the way that Lenin was, you could not believe in any of it because it is all a sham that you can easily dispense with. Once you dispense with it the only thing that can enable you to be right is revolutionary consciousness, which they talked about a lot: You have this thing inside of you because you are in tune with the proletariat or the zeitgeist as a result of which you are going to make the right judgments. So, basically, you are handing over all kinds of power to a band of individuals who claim that they have an intuition to understand the proletariat and what their needs and interest are and anything they do is going to be correct. But you know that is ridiculous, you know that is not possible. It would be like handing anybody, whether Donald Trump or Barack Obama or anybody else, absolute power to decide everything without any institutional constraints. That is exactly what the Bolsheviks set up. There were minimal constraints under the Tzar, but there were some. There was an independent judiciary since 1864, for instance, but all of that was swept away. So there was nothing to hold them back, nothing.

GL: Yeah, well, it is true: There are institutions that are preventing Trump from taking greater power. But those things will soon be gone: for instance, public sector workers, something that many people here care about. Well, he is using his power to appoint people—fully constitutionally—to the Supreme Court in order to make the public sector right-to-work. Now that is what Trump is doing. Yes, he has to follow certain steps, but what Mao said remains true—power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

You are right that the Bolsheviks absolutely eviscerated almost all of the institutions of Russia. They were simply the Tzar's institutions, so they thought, "We'll get rid of them!" But, after that, what the fuck do we do, right? And, oftentimes, they did not have an answer, but simply declared "We are revolutionary!" or "This person who we put in charge is revolutionary!" Still, we have to recognise that, at a basic level, the Bolsheviks were right. The problem, which you have expertly gauged, is where do you go from there once all these institutions are abolished? I agree that they abolished many without knowing where to go. But this was the first revolution that lasted more than two months. And what revolution is, ultimately, is one class seizing power. It is a cliche, but it is true—one class seizing and holding power over another class. What presumably most of us want here is the victory of the proletariat, i.e. working schlubs, over the bourgeoisie, rich assholes like Trump and Paris Hilton.

SB: Perhaps we can talk about Kronstadt and the grain requisitions later. Now I want to remark that the Bolsheviks did believe in one institution, the party. Like everything else, they had just a sort of monopolistic view. At any rate, I would not say they were anti-institutional. It seems at times that Lenin is building a machine to take over Europe in the name of the whole proletariat, at least that is probably what he thought in his mind. I would disagree with your notion that there is some sort of trajectory about Western liberal history, that we are progressing through the development of institutions that check runaway power in terms of checks and balances and that sort of thing. I do not think the answer lies in institutions per se or any sort of lofty constructions of liberal theorists or anything like that. These checks and balances, what they are is a distribution of power to different forces in society. And that is exactly what the revolution was setting out to achieve in the minds of many people, the distribution of power beyond anything imagined by liberal theorists before, that is, direct democracy in every workplace, direct democracy in every neighbourhood, in every building. That means that to get something done you have to actually go and talk to the people involved and make sure that they are ok with it. Similarly, with anything people want to get done around you, you have your say. We have maybe five or six checks and balances within our constitutional government. But every single individual is or could be themself a check on power—at least that is the sort of society they were aiming for.

Franklin, I want to push back on your description of Lenin's philosophical preparation for the Russian Revolution. Just who was really making the revolution? It was millions and millions of Russian people. What did any of them, except a tiny minority, care at all what Lenin thought about Hegel? I do not think it really mattered. Maybe it gave Lenin the insight compared to the rest of the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks at the time. Maybe it allowed him to think, "Hey, we can take power now." But that seems to be the only thing that set Lenin apart from the rest of his party. That is a great insight, but I do not think the people were waiting for it. They were ready to make things happen themselves, as is proved by everything they did without the Bolsheviks.

There was resistance to the Bolshevik dictatorship all along the line. There was Machnow and all the other partisans in Ukraine who fought off centralised soviet power and arbitrary rule by dictatorial government for a few years. Of course, there was Kornstadt. This was just after there were strikes in St Petersburg, generating an interesting problem for and regarding the workers' government: How can you strike against your own government? For many Bolsheviks, strikes were impermissible in such a case. In fact they massacred strikers in St. Petersburg. Some Kronstadt sailors got wind of this, sent a delegation, asked about it. Eventually, they got the story, at which point the Kronstadt sailors raised their own revolt, demanding very simple things: freedom of the press, freedom of speech for working class people, parties, left wing socialists. They were completely revolutionary. They were on the side of the revolution and did not want a return to capitalism. They did not want to go back to a world where those who own property rule everything.

JD: They wanted free exchange.

SB: Yeah, they wanted free exchange in the countryside, but also no wage labor, which the New Economic Policy did allow. The New Economic Policy was something the Bolsheviks brought in a little bit afterwards, after the Kronstadt rebellion. But they had been working on it before, because they knew they were in the middle of an immense crisis, before they knew they could not sustain war communism anymore; even before they could not sustain these grain requisitions anymore. So, they did need to liberalise the economy in that sense, allow free trade. And that is what the Kronstadters wanted. They wanted just some respite from an economy that had turned into a gruesome grinding machine that was turning workers into mincemeat. And what did the Bolsheviks do? They did not even allow the demands of the Kronstadt sailors to be heard. They just shot them down like partridges, as Zinoviev put it. That was the end of it, the end of illusions about Bolshevik power realizing the things Lenin had talked about earlier. So, there is resistance all along the line.

Q&A

Sam, I was thinking about the excitement that you catch from the quotes from the time. You know, it is not so far from today, if you look at the Arab Spring and the democracy in the streets there. In Egypt, women said for the first time, "I feel like I'm equal here." So all that excitement, it is not like only one hundred years ago. It is very current.

I wanted to ask Franklin about Lenin going back to Hegel. I do not think you were saying the masses were waiting for the latest that Lenin had to say on Hegel. I was also interested in how Jonathan said that other Bolsheviks did not like what Lenin was saying because they held to stage theory whereas Lenin saw that we can go straight to socialism. So, I wondered if Franklin could maybe address the question of whether and how Lenin's political judgement was that it was not just a workers' revolution, but a workers' and peasants' revolution? How did he know to say, "All power to the Soviets"? Does it relate to your point about philosophy?

One of the currents running through a lot of the presentations here is this difference between democracy from above or below. Another way this is stated was the masses vs. the party. So if it is true, for example, as Sam said, that the peasants were already making the revolution, then what sets the Bolsheviks apart as a form of political leadership? Why is the party necessary at all? And perhaps one way to historically situate this is 1917 as a crisis of democracy. First of all, there was a war, right? That is the context. The aftermath of World War I is already a crisis of 2nd International socialist democracy. And then, of course, the degeneration into Stalinism, somehow seen as bureaucracy from above. The Soviet Union was supposed to provide for the direct access of the individual to the state, itself controlled by the worker. How and why did this fail? What was the party's role? What did Lenin think was the party's role?

Another way of reformulating the question of above vs. below would be state vs. civil society, which gets to the undercurrent of this conversation. In a way, Sam, you were the most liberal in the traditional sense, saying that civil society itself presents checks and balances on the capriciousness of the state.

SB: The Arab Spring was very inspiring to me. As a student in 2011, it is actually what inspired me to learn Arabic. But today it is actually rather tragic because we see the results have not been so good. It seems like worldwide imperialism is very much in charge with el-Sisi in power in Egypt and with Bashar al-Assad enjoying victory in Syria. There is the exception of the Syrian Kurds, of course, who are very much worth talking about and one of the few bright lights in the world right now.

I was in Greece last summer working with Syrian refugees and I talked to them about the revolution and everything. Of course, they were all pro-revolutionary. They do not regret anything. At the same time, they are also extremely depressed. That is where we are right now. Still, it is inspiring. Their slogan—*'aish, hurriyya, 'adala igtima'iyya* ["Bread, freedom, and social justice"]—is very similar to what the Russians were chanting in 1917.

And there are examples of things similar to the Soviets in terms of local councils taking power in various regions throughout Syria. I'm thinking right now of a Syrian anarchist by the name Omar Aziz who had been living in the United States. He was a doctor here, but he went back and theorized about these even as he was active in setting them up. He died in a regime prison in 2013. So there are these undercurrents. Unfortunately, however, it seems like everything has been taken over either by Islamists or fascists of one kind or another. This seems to be the case in wars generally, the most violent party runs things.

About the state vs. civil society, I'm an anarchist. So, I want to abolish the state. I think civil society in a broad sense can replace everything that a state does. But it is the question of what kind of civil society, what kind of population we are. We have been sort of accustomed to state rule for all of our individual lives, of course. Also, historically, the state goes back something like ten thousand years. It is going to be a long, thoroughgoing process for people to really achieve our freedom. I see the Russian Revolution as an example of where people are reaching for this freedom, yet fall back into a very ready-to-hand, available pattern of state authority. In the case of the Bolsheviks, they were able to offer people in Russia who were suffering and desperate, say, a career in the Cheka. All you had to do is one little thing, use violence against strangers. That's what the state is. That's what anarchists are out to prevent. Anarchists were very active in the revolution. They were active in Moscow, Petrograd, Ukraine, Siberia—they were everywhere. But they failed to stop the dictatorial power from basically abolishing local initiative—factory committees, soviets, and the rest. The ones who escaped—and there were probably hundreds in total, including at least a few dozen big names—went mainly to Europe, though some came here to Chicago. They theorized about the whole situation, forming the tradition that my group partly comes out of. Black Rose Anarchist Federation is inspired by that current, called platformism. We want to reformulate anarchism in order to focus more on organizing, on having a disciplined central organization of anarchists, though without leaders. Our forebearers among the Russian revolutionary anarchists were thinking of 1917: If we had done things differently, what could have happened? What if we had had enough propaganda on the streets, if the masses had gone to our side rather than the Bolsheviks'? Black Rose comes somewhat from that defeated tradition.

FD: With respect to Lenin and Hegel, one of the clearest examples is that, when Lenin came back from exile, many Bolsheviks wanted simply to support the Provisional Government. Lenin managed to completely turn the direction away from that and to make "All Power to the Soviets!" the Bolsheviks' slogan. Perhaps Sam was the one who pointed out that, at the beginning of 1917, the Bolsheviks were not a very large party and were not very well known. They became well known because the other socialists compromised themselves and discredited themselves. The Bolsheviks did not come up with their slogans "Peace, Land, and Bread," "All Power to the Soviets!" just by chance. They were articulating the demands of the masses. By the way, peace meant end to world war, that we are going to have immediate world peace. Let's not confuse what that meant.

I think you have to roll it back a little more. What was it that was so different after this encounter with Hegel? The philosophical mainstream of Second International Marxism was economic determinism. They held to stageism, that revolutions have first to go through this stage and only after that is it possible to develop to the next social stage. Lenin broke with all of that. He saw that much more emphasis needed to be placed on the subjective element, not in the sense of some Maoist voluntarist subjectivism without basis in objectivity, but subjectivity that is genuinely rooted in objectivity. That supplied the basis for Lenin's completely new understanding of imperialism, that it is not just an economic stage but a transformation into its opposite of part of the economic basis of capitalism, from competition to monopoly. It means the transformation into its opposite of part of the working class into an aristocracy of labor entangled within this imperialism. And it means also new subjects in terms of national liberation movements that should not just be written off in the way that, for example, Rosa Luxemburg or Bukharin or Pannekoek would do.

Lenin's dialecticism can also be seen in the trade union debate, when actually it was people that Lenin was arguing against within the Bolsheviks that said, "Why should workers want to strike against their own workers' state?" To which Lenin replied, "You've got to be concrete, you've got to be dialectical and recognize that, in fact, workers need to be able to defend themselves against their own workers' state." Lenin championed that viewpoint against people like Trotsky and Bukharin.

It's too tempting to oversimplify aspects of what was going on in the revolution. You do not understand it if you do not see it as this dialectic of opposing forces. Not just clashing, but things turning into their opposite in themselves. It is the great example of how Marxist government can, so to speak, turn into its opposite. To postulate that a straight line runs from Lenin to Stalin is to fail to understand that. Just as in the Spanish Revolution, some anarchists felt they had to become part of the government. It was not because they wanted to betray their principles. They just felt like that was what they were for. There were exigencies of the situation. So, a tale told about what happens after the Russian Revolution without putting due emphasis on the exigencies caused by the civil war is just wrong. You cannot understand it that way. It misrepresents what actually happened. Thus, to equate the famine that happened at the end of the Civil War with the one that Stalin caused by forced collectivization is historically quite wrong.

JD: To promise an end to the war, knowing full well that you are going to be plunged into an equally gruesome and probably more worldwide war than the one that you were in is, I would submit, misleading. As far as the famines of 1921–22 go, they are similar insofar as, in both cases, grain confiscations caused peasants to plant less, which resulted in death. Now it's true that there was poorer weather in 1921–22. That was not purely governmental, whereas in 1932–33, there does not seem to have been any problem with the weather. That was, it seems, purely governmental.

As so far as the whole question of anarchism, I'm very sympathetic to the idea. I think that among the most successful examples of anarchistic polity in history was early America because you really did not have an external state that was able to dictate. That is I think why the American Revolution was successful. Because these guys were used to running local government themselves. When de Tocqueville visited the United States in the 1830s, he saw this. It was still there, especially in New England. People were organizing associations and clubs and they were running everything themselves. No one was telling them how to organize their lives, they simply did it locally. That's civil society, which is so important. So, when I talk about the limits on power, civil society is a part of that. And the more developed the civil society is, the more people are used to running their own lives, the better.

The people in Russia were fantastic. They were trying to run their own lives for the first time. Unfortunately, they were doing so in a context that was very unfavorable. It was a world war; it was Bolsheviks with a radical vision of transforming everything. And their transformative proposal hinged on the revolution breaking out in Europe, just as Marx had said was a precondition. Revolution in and out of Russia, that's certainly what the Bolsheviks expected or hoped for. They kept watching what was happening, all the revolutionary stirrings in Germany, and kept praying that the revolution would happen. Unfortunately, it did not. So the revolution in Russia could not advance, at which point Stalin comes up with the idea of socialism in one country. I won't argue like Stalin, but I will say that, when you are dealing with power, when you are dealing with a country with one hundred and fifty million people and eleven time zones, one sixth of the earth's landmass, that's a huge amount of resources to be fought over. Unless there is something that can arbitrate that, something that can prevent all of that massive power flowing into a few hands, unless you can stop that, you are fairly doomed. It seems likely that once the Bolsheviks destroyed all of those civil society institutions—because civil society was not allowed to persist under the Bolsheviks—that opened the door for Stalin who was then able to do anything he wanted. He can take millions of peasants, throw them into boxcars, dump them in the middle of nowhere, and tell them, "Okay, set up your camps and run your lives." He can then force everyone else into collective farms, where no one cares about it, because their heart is not in it because they do not own anything, etc. He can actually kill without trial. He executed close to a million people in the years 1937–38. That's why to say, "Oh well, Trump is going to get rid of the trade unions"—that may not be a good thing, but there's so much more that could happen if power were truly concentrated. That's one thing you want to avoid. You do not want power to get concentrated into a set of hands based upon, in this case, an ideology that claims that you can build everything beautifully and wonderfully. Maybe. But, honestly, it is much better to do it step-by step and let people learn how to organize their own lives. And it so happens that in North America white people, anyway, didn't have people breathing down our necks. And so, in America, they were able to set up a fairly successful system of self-government.

GL: To quote one of my favorite subjectivist, idealist Maoists, Mao says power grows out of the point of the gun. Now, the point of that is not, "Do what we say or we'll kill you" (although that is a very persuasive argument). The point is, at the end of the day, adjudication among any given system is ultimately a question of power. Now, power that grows directly out of the barrel of the gun is, of course, the crudest, most violent sort of power possible. And it would certainly be best if that is not the way that we adjudicate things among us. But in the case of any successful revolution the question of power arises.

It was said, well, we have civil society... at least for white people. There it is admitted. Do you know what the American "democratic experience" looks like? It looks like rape, plunder, and pillage. Of course, there was plenty of rape, plunder, and pillage in the Russian Revolution as well. The key is (and this is the problem we have to deal with): How do we build the system to fight people who are doing that for ends that we do not agree with? Basically, how the fuck do we stop Donald Trump? That's the exemplar, the most grotesque, clear sign of it. And then the question is, how do we reach agreement—a majority agreement, preferably—about what's fair? We have all sorts of different ideologies, all sorts of different views. But here in this room, we can agree that some things just do not fly, like exploitation.

What does the Russian Revolution teach us? Above all that we are not going to agree. But it's good that we have events like this to make clear our differences, to discuss even where we disagree. So, I want to thank the Platypus Affiliated Society—I appreciate this discussion. It's important and needs to be had.

Finally, the question that the Russian Revolution forces us to ask is, What do we do to stop the people who are hurting and killing us? It may be Leninists, or Stalinists, or, if you are lucky, Maoists that gain power. But we have to ask this question because, right now, it is Trump. We need to find unity to a certain extent so that we can fight them. **|P**

Transcribed by Gregor Baszak, Efraim Carlebach, and Kevin Dong

---

1 This quotation combines statements from Lenin's "Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Soldiers of the Izmailovsky Regiment April 10, 1917," "The Dual Power," and "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," Lenin's defense and exposition of the "April Theses." All three writings are from April 1917. The speaker is quoting these sources from G. P. Maximoff, *The Guillotine at Work: Twenty Years of Terror in Russia* (Chicago: The Alexander Berkman Fund, 1940), 22.

Women's March: An islamophile intervention against women's rights

Tina Sanders

"WE CAN DISAGREE AND STILL LOVE EACH OTHER, unless your disagreement is rooted in my oppression and denial of my humanity and right to exist," Linda Sarsour proudly announces on her Twitter account.[1] Sarsour is a self-proclaimed human rights activist and supporter of the anti-Semitic Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement. She and her Women's March (WM) colleagues were named Women of The Year 2017 by *Glamour* magazine.[2] However, for Sarsour, Trump's so-called "white supremacy" seems to be the only phenomenon deserving of the term "oppression." When it comes to the 2017–18 Iranian protests, the only critique Sarsour utters is one of Trump's "Muslim ban." Sarsour makes no statement calling out the misogynistic, anti-Semitic, in short, Islamist Iranian regime. Sarsour's very engagement in the debate over the Iran protests—a debate over the emancipation of women and LGBTIQs—seems to have been motivated exclusively by the criticism she and her fellow Women's March organizer, Tamika D. Mallory, received for their silence from Liz Wheeler, an anchor for the pro-Trump One America News Network.[3] Indeed, to this day Sarsour has given no sign of authentic solidarity with the revolts in Iran.

Love for Louis

On January 27, 2017 the Women's March activists remembered the Jewish, but also all the other, victims of the Holocaust on their official Twitter page: "On #HolocaustMemorialDay, we remember the six million Jews murdered and the millions of people with disabilities, European Roma and LGBTQIA+ people murdered. On #HolocaustMemorialDay, we recommit ourselves to fighting white supremacy, anti-Semitism and hatred in all its forms."[4] Sarsour trivializes the unprecedented industrial murder of six million Jews when she retweets comments like this one: "Black people in America are one of the only groups of people on this planet asked to simply get over/forget about their holocaust."[5] She also repeatedly tries to deflect from the fact that she and her Women's March colleagues have personal, political, and financial ties to people whose anti-Semitism takes the shape of a wish for the extinction of Jews and the Jewish state—people like Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam.

On November 21, 2016, Carmen Perez, one of the Women's March organizers, shared a picture of herself and Farrakhan on Instagram. The caption read: "There are many times when I sit with elders or inspirational individuals where I think, I just wish I could package this and share this moment with others. Today, we had the opportunity to share our time with the (Minister Louis Farrakhan)."[6] Tamika D. Mallory wished Farrakhan a Happy Birthday and praised him on the same social media site.[7] In a series of lectures organized by the Nation of Islam, Farrakhan called Jews "satanic" more than once.[8] His 2015 Savior's Day speech at Mosque Maryam in Chicago included conspiracy theories on how Jews supposedly control the U.S. government and on the cooperation of the U.S. and Israel during the 9/11 attacks.[9] For years, Farrakhan has been promoting the second volume of a Nation of Islam book series which is called "How Jews Gained Control of the Black American Economy" and he propagates the anti-Semitic tale of the involvement of greedy Jews in the American enslavement of African-Americans and black Africans.[10] In a radio interview from May 9, 2017, Farrakhan threatened Jewish Israelis with not being able to stay in their home country for much longer and called on the Iranian and other Islamist regimes to offer resistance against Israel's existence.[11]

Islamic Relief

On its website, the Women's March encourages supporters to donate to the organization Islamic Relief (IR) and claims that the money will be spent on helping Syrian refugees.[12] Although it has been deemed a terrorist organization by the United Arab Emirates, IR has received millions of dollars in donations from the U.S., German, Swedish, and British governments as well as from the UN and EU. These funds have been passed on to organizations that enjoy good relations with the Palestinian terror organization Hamas.[13] Some national branches of IR are led by Islamists drawn from the social milieu of the Muslim Brotherhood, the very organization responsible for the term "Islamophobia." This word has always been used to deflect from or trivialize Islamic antisemitism or misogyny, and it was Linda Sarsour and other prominent activists, who have managed to introduce the term to the mainstream.

There is still no consensus on when and where and by whom the word "Islamophobia" was first used, but Pascal Bruckner writes, "The aim of this word was to declare Islam inviolate. Whoever crosses this border is deemed a racist. This term, which is worthy of totalitarian propaganda, is deliberately unspecific about whether it refers to a religion, a belief system, or its faithful adherents around the world."[14] Khaled Lamada, who is currently holding office at the U.S. branch of IR, is a prominent Egyptian-American supporter of the Muslim Brotherhood. His social media account shows the R4BIA symbol and praises the "Jihad" of the "Mujahidin of Egypt" and Hamas because of "the many defeats they have cost Israel."[15] Lamada posted a video that claims that Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, the Egyptian president, is involved in a Jewish conspiracy against the Muslim Brotherhood.[16] Another Islamic Relief U.S. employee, Yousef Abdallah, circulated on Facebook a story that idolizes "martyrs" who provided weapons that went on to "kill more than 20 Jews" and "fire rockets on Tel Aviv."[17]

No word is uttered about this rampant Islamic antisemitism when Linda Sarsour is asked about the issue of hatred of Jews. Instead, she says this:

> I think a conversation about antisemitism is so critical at this moment [...] as we have anti-Semites basically in power in the White House but being really critical about what antisemitism actually means, because often times it's used by the right wing against Palestinians and those who are pro-Palestine to make the overgeneralization [that] because we are pro-Palestine, because we are pro-justice, that must mean that we are anti-Semitic, or, because we're critics of the state of Israel, that means that we are anti-Semitic.[18]

The myth of Zionist Apartheid

In 2016, when asked about her then recently published book, *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement*, political activist Angela Davis remarked, "Palestine represents what, it seems to me, South Africa represented in the 1980s and up until the end of Apartheid," and "Palestine seems to me that pivot that allows us to enlarge, broaden and extend our consciousness."[19] During her keynote speech at the Women's March on Washington, she demanded the end of incarceration of Assata Shakur and Mumia Abu-Jamal, who were—like Davis—members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and who murdered American policemen.[20] In the 1960s, the Black Panther Party worked with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).[21] The PLO, until the revisions of its manifesto in 1996 and 1998, called the founding of Israel "illegal," denied Jews the right to a state of their own, and propagated the Intifada: "Ideological doctrines, whether political, social, or economic, shall not distract the people of Palestine from the primary duty of liberating their homeland. All Palestinians constitute one national front and work with all their feelings and material potentialities to free their homeland."[22] The BPP also collaborated with the terrorist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) that hijacked planes in 1968, 1970, and 1976 and took almost exclusively Jewish Israelis as hostages while letting everyone else go.[23] Mumia Abu-Jamal trivialized these crude acts of antisemitism and called Jews the new Nazis and Israel a state of apartheid in a 2002 article titled "Blitzkrieg in Palestine."[24]

There is no racial segregation in Israel remotely close to that which used to dominate South Africa: Arab Israelis have the same rights as Jews, they have been allowed to passively and actively vote at the Knesset elections for decades, they are partly members of the Knesset,[25] they are part of the government and the supreme court, they work as diplomats,[26] they do not have to serve in the Israeli army (Israeli Defense Forces),[27] and Arabic is one of the two official languages in Israel.[28] Restrictions of the rights of Arab Israelis are security measures which are urgently called for in times when Jewish Israelis are stabbed with knives and run over with cars by Arab Israelis and bombarded by the terrorist organization Hamas. But critics like Sarsour never utter a word about the fact that the surrounding Muslim countries do not support Palestinian refugees via infrastructure or medical treatment and that their governments restrict Palestinian immigration. Mahmud Abbas and Yasser Arafat, leaders of the PLO and the Palestinian region, rejected attempts at a peaceful two-state solution made by the Israeli government in 2000, 2008, and 2014.

So woke

Linda Sarsour knows how to switch from empowered and empowering hijabi feminist to victim within an instant whenever she runs out of arguments. At a speech in 2017, she asked arrogantly:

> Can somebody remind me of a staunch pro-Israel organization that has come out in support or stood up against the killing of unarmed black people by law enforcement in this country?! If you know, I wanna know who they are, because I don't see that happening, right?!... The same people that justify the massacres on Palestinian children and civilians in Palestine and call it collateral damage are the same people that will find excuses to justify murder of unarmed people in this country by law enforcement.[29]

What happened shortly afterwards was proof of anti-Semitic resentment outweighing solidarity and empathy with the black people, proof that reminded everyone of the BDS campaign against Soda Stream: When Zionist Jews tried to take part in the New York March for Racial Justice on October 1, 2017, in order to take a stand against racist police violence, they were asked to take down their signs. The signs themselves called for unity of Jews and black people within the movement. The Zionists were then accused of hijacking the demonstration and making Palestinians like Sarsour feel unsafe. In her speech, she later said that she felt scared because of some of the signs she had seen at the demonstration.[30] The argument of fear was also embraced and instrumentalized by queer feminists at the Chicago Dyke March in 2017. An activist was asked to leave the demonstration because of her Star of David/Pride flag.[31]

Sarsour and her allies seem to care about neither universal emancipation nor about maintaining the right of physical integrity of women, homo- and bisexuals, trans people and non-Muslims in the Middle East. Sarsour says the following about Israel, the only very liberal country in that area:

> Is there room for people who support the state of Israel and do not criticize it in the movement? There can't be in feminism. You either stand up for the rights of all women, including Palestinians, or none. [...] There's just no way around it. There is no country in this world that is immune to violating human rights. You can't be a feminist in the United States and stand up for the rights of the American woman and then say that you don't want to stand up for the rights of Palestinian women in Palestine. It's all connected. Whether you're talking about Palestinian women, Mexican women, women in Brazil, China, or women in Saudi Arabia—this feminist movement is an international global movement.[32]

Linda Sarsour, *Islamist of the Year 2017*

Alongside the title of raging anti-Semite, Linda Sarsour has also very much earned the title of "fake feminist" given to her by the Somalian ex-Muslim women's right activist and critic of Islam Aayan Hirsi Ali. Hirsi Ali bestowed this title on Sarsour when the organizers of Women's March wrote on their official website, "We honor and respect tribal laws and jurisdictions."[33] This position is reminiscent of the aforementioned Farrakhan, who publicly declared his opposition to a revision of homophobic sodomy laws in Central America.[34] Farrakhan accused women of undermining the American family as they made their way into the workforce during and after World War II instead of taking exclusive responsibility for reproduction work and child nurturing at home. Farrakhan also references the Koran when deeming homosexuality a sin and propagates the idea that homosexuals will find themselves in Sodom and Gomorrah after their deaths.[35] Sarsour was first called a "fake feminist" after she tweeted the following about Hirsi Ali, a victim of female genital mutilation: "Brigitte Gabriel=Ayaan Hirsi Ali. She's asking 4 an a$$ whippin'. I wish I could take their vaginas away—they don't deserve to be women."[36] It was also Ali who pointed out that Sarsour had propagated sharia law on Twitter in 2011[37] and 2015.[38] When asked about the severely patriarchal conditions in Muslim countries, this is Sarsour's reaction: "There are Muslim countries who have women presidents for God's sake. In Saudi Arabia - ur boogeyman Islamic state, women r in parliament."[39] On the same day, she had to say something about the hijab as an instrument of real apartheid, namely the Muslim segregation of the sexes: "FYI - mandated head covering for Muslim women in Saudi Arabia is the LEAST of their worries. Stop making it THE ISSUE. It's not."[40]

These statements are overflowing with cultural relativism and factual contradictions, which is ironic, seeing as how the American New Left has for some time accused the Alt-Right movement of being "post-truth." Saudi women were allowed to vote passively and actively for the first time, and exclusively at the municipal level, in 2015, although some encountered "difficulties proving identity and residency" and there were "only a limited number of registration centers, according to Human Rights Watch."[41] Saudi women voters were not allowed to speak to male voters and had to use segregated campaign offices. This year, Saudi women will be allowed to drive cars for the first time without a male guardian.[42] Whether or not women will be allowed to walk the streets by themselves was not debated. A side note that has not gained sufficient attention is a 2007 article from Al Arabiya that cites Linda Sarsour: "She, however, will not ask her own daughters to go through an arranged marriage, Linda said. All she wants is for them to choose someone who is Muslim and Arab, and that will be traditional enough."[43] In that same interview, Sarsour said that arranged marriages do not disturb her because she does not believe in marriages for love, because the arranged form of marriage is Islamic tradition and because her parents as well as her husband agreed to let her go to university. In a Western democracy such as the U.S., Sarsour claims to be in favor of being able to voluntarily decide whether or not to wear a hijab or to accept an arranged marriage, ergo to voluntarily decide whether or not to embrace and partly propagate misogynist traditions.

Universalism versus *Umma*

On topics like Islam, the New Left has, since its postmodern, identitarian turn, been obliged to listen exclusively to Muslim women who were raised in the West. Since the matter of universal and radical demands (as represented across the globe by the Old Left, by Communist parties, and by Second Wave Feminism) was dropped in favor of particularity, dividing lines have been drawn between men and women, black and white, cis and trans, etc., culminating in theories like intersectionality. Sarsour's supporters keep forgetting, however, about two terms, the usage of which they otherwise normally love to inflate: privilege and agency. Women in Iran, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Iraq, etc. do not have either of them. Sarsour does. For such women, wearing a hijab or marrying a stranger is not a choice, nor is studying at a Western university. The voices of Vida Mohaved (the arrested Iranian protester known as the woman waving her white hijab on a stick), Mina Ahadi (an Austrian-Iranian, ex-Muslim human rights activist), and Aayan Hirsi Ali remain to be silenced by women who—like Sarsour, and the rest of the left—have embraced Islamism.

But why would someone who calls themselves an advocate for social justice embrace misogyny and antisemitism? According to the terms of intersectionality theory—a theory that sees only black or white and contrasts "oppressors" on the one hand with "oppressed" on the other hand—Jews have been deemed white and therefore "racists" and "oppressors," especially when they are Zionists or wealthy. Within the black community of Crown Heights, New York, the tensions of residents feeling "oppressed" by former Jewish tenants and (by that time) Jewish landlords ended in a three-day riot in 1991 after a 25-year-old rabbi accidentally killed a seven-year-old black boy with his car. A 29-year-old Jew was then killed by a group of black teenagers.[44] Nowadays, the American left so passionately supports the Black Lives Matter movement, which, on the one hand, has managed to raise important questions on, and mobilize against, racist police brutality, racial profiling, and many more struggles facing the black community, even as, on the other hand, it has repeatedly made headlines due to the antisemitism of some of their participants.[45] Since the left also deems black people, next to Muslim women, the new revolutionary subject simply because of the discrimination they face due to racism, no critical word is uttered about violent acts of antisemitism by the black community. Another reason why one cannot find any leftist sources on incidents like the one in Crown Heights or antisemitism that associates Jews with money is that the left itself has been acting structurally anti-Semitic. Instead of analyzing matters of class and capitalism as a whole in a Marxist tradition, the left has become a protest against the rich and against major multinational companies. But long before WWII, when the National Socialists divided capital into the productive ("schaffende") sphere of "honest German labor" and the sphere of finance capital, Jews had been accused of greed. Anti-Semitic resentment will live on as long as capitalism lives on—and this anti-Semitic resentment will also live on within the left. Hence, Jews don't have agency either, except when antisemitism is articulated and acted upon by white supremacists. While the identitarian left keeps using subjective victimhood as a political point of reference instead of striving for radical social change, there is no place for Jews to be seen as victims of discrimination since, in the Manichean view of intersectionality, post colonialism, and queer feminism, they are almost always seen as "oppressors."

Within American identity politics there exists a hierarchy of victimization in which American society, through colonialism and slavery, has discriminated against black people the most. Therefore, some parts of the black community see themselves (or have been seen by others) as in competition with the Jewish victims of the unprecedented Holocaust. The fact that Libya is still selling Nigerians as slaves on markets and torturing them does not seem to be a problem for the American left, because—thanks to post-colonialism—only Western countries can be accused of "oppression."[46] As soon as contradictions arise within this perspective, one simply does not speak of them out loud; and if such contradictory incidences are addressed at all, they are dismissed as "isolated" or explained away as "the results of Western colonialism and racism."

This also counts when it comes to Muslim women. Yes, Muslim women have to some extent been victims of anti-Muslim racism since 9/11, but, at other times, as in Sarsour's case, they are Islamists. They are considered to be Non-White and, therefore, "oppressed," "survivors," or "heroes" who need to be empowered or who can empower others against "white supremacy." From a global perspective, however, the oppression from which Muslim women (as well as atheist women and women of other religious backgrounds) suffer most is patriarchal violence and that violence must be named, analyzed, and fought, no matter where it presents itself. The Left keeps contradicting itself when it comes to human rights. It considers it racist to say that patriarchy is worse in Iran than it is in the West, that patriarchy takes on other shapes and forms than it does in the West.

The Left can surely carry on calling Trump the only "oppressor" and worshipping Muslim women as the new revolutionary subject. The Left can surely carry on fighting wars for LGBTIQs and women without demanding radical structural change. But this is exactly one of the reasons why the Left is dead: Everything that the Left used to fight for—universal human rights and a society in which everyone can be different without living in fear (whether of capitalism or of patriarchy)—has eroded into a self-contradictory identity politics. **IP**

---

1 Linda Sarsour (@lsarsour), Twitter Post, November 11, 2016, 2:35pm, https://twitter.com/lsarsour/status/797206161737076737.
2 Nathan Guttman, "Linda Sarsour Makes Glamour's Women of the Year List," *Forward*, October 30, 2017, https://forward.com/fast-forward/386467/linda-sarsour-makes-glamours-women-of-the-year-list/.
3 Liz Wheeler (@Liz_Wheeler), Twitter Post, January 2, 2018, 9:14am, https://twitter.com/Liz_Wheeler/status/948241059506614272.
4 Women's March (@womensmarch), Twitter Post, January 27, 2018, 10:31am, https://twitter.com/womensmarch/status/957320217796882432.
5 Linda Sarsour (@lsarsour), Twitter Post, July 4, 2017, 8:06am, (Retweet @CharlesMBlow), https://twitter.com/CharlesMBlow/status/882254344879341568.
6 Carmen Perez (Msladyjustice1), Instagram Photo, November 21, 2016, https://www.instagram.com/p/BNDLpbGFrlc/?taken-by=msladyjustice1&hl=en.
7 Tamika D. Mallory (tamikadmallory), Instagram Photo, May 11, 2017, https://www.instagram.com/p/BT9wDcUBShs/.
8 Anti-Defamation League, smarch/status/957320217796882"_ March 20, 2015: https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/anti-semitism/united-states/farrakhan-in-his-own-words-2015-03-20.pdf.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 Wali Fard Muhammad, Facebook Post, May 5, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/wali.muhammad.18/videos/10212901551278040/.
12 Women's March, "Women for Syria,": https://www.womensmarch.com/womenforsyria/.
13 Sam Westrop, "How American Charities Fund Terrorism," *National Review*, January 12, 2017, www.nationalreview.com/article/443773/terrorist-groups-american-charities-fund-them-and-should-stop.
14 Pascal Bruckner, "The Invention of Islamophobia," *Sign and Sight*, March 1, 2011, http://www.signandsight.com/features/2123.html.
15 Khaled Lamada (Sharing a Facebook Post from Yahya Bayad, January 1, 2014), Facebook Post, January 2, 2014, http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Screen-Shot-2017-08-01-at-15.10.05.png.
16 Khaled Lamada, Facebook Post, April 22, 2014, http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Screen-Shot-2017-08-01-at-15.13.30.png.
17 Yousef Abdallah (Sharing a Facebook Post from Maali Turk September 1, 2014), Facebook Post, September 1, 2014, http://islamist-watch.org/pics/355.jpg.
18 Inspirational Speakers, "Linda Sarsour on anti-semitism 3 31 2017," YouTube video, 1.24 mins, June 4, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I1mbhfgOP_4.
19 Democracy Now!, "Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Angela Davis on Ferguson, Palestine & the Foundations of a Movement," YouTube video, 8:14 mins, March 28, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2gQBgCf0MAs.
20 Marland X, "(FULL) Angela Davis SPEAKS at Women's March in Washington, DC 1-21-2017," YouTube video, 7:01, January 22, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_LKQRXYyRn8; Timothy Williams, "Execution Case Dropped Against Abu-Jamal" *New York Times,* December 7, 2011, www.nytimes.com/2011/12/08/us/execution-case-dropped-against-convicted-cop-killer.html; Tim Walker, "Assata Shakur: Black Militant, Fugitive Cop Killer, Terrorist Threat... or Escaped Slave," *The Independent*, July 18, 2014, www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/assata-shakur-black-militant-fugitive-cop-killer-terrorist-threat-or-escaped-slave-9616001.html.
21 Matthew Quest, "The Black Panther Party and Palestine Solidarity," http://transculturalmodernism.org/files/mvo/2011-01-30/black_panther_palesitinian_solidarity.Pdf.
22 "Palestinian National Charter of 1964," *Palestinian Media Watch*, www.palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=640&doc_id=8210.
23 Alex Lubin, *Geographies of Liberation: The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).
24 Mumia Abu-Jamal, "Blitzkrieg in Palestine," Workers World, May 2, 2002, www.workers.org/ww/2002/mumia0502.php.
25 Lahav Harkov, "The 20th Knesset by the Numbers: More Arabs and Women, Fewer Orthodox Members," Jerusalem Post, March 18, 2015, www.jpost.com/Israel-Elections/The-20th-Knesset-by-the-numbers-More-Arab-and-female-Mks-fewer-ultra-Orthodox-lawmakers-394305.
26 Deroy Murdock, "Arabs are Prominent in Israel's Government," *National Review*, November 25, 2013, http://www.nationalreview.com/article/364746/arabs-are-prominent-israels-government-deroy-murdock
27 Paul Goldman, "Arab Israelis Are Joining the IDF In Growing Numbers: Officials," *NBC News*, February 26, 2017, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/arab-israelis-are-joining-idf-growing-numbers-officials-n724586.
28 Regine Borja Guevara, "Arabic as an Official Language of the State of Israel," *Jerusalem Post*, July 22, 2017, www.jpost.com/Opinion/Arabic-as-an-official-language-of-the-State-of-Israel-500444>>.
29 Stop The Lies, "Linda Sarsour claims supporters of Israel are anti-black lives," YouTube video, 6:01, April 8, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t2ZBb0jQd74.
30 Taly Krupkin, "Linda Sarsour at Racial Justice March: 'It Is Not My Job to Educate Jewish People That Palestinians Deserve Dignity,'" *Haaretz*, October 2, 2017, https://www.haaretz.com/usnews/.premium-1.815218.
31 Laurel Grauer, "The Chicago Dyke March Preaches Inclusion. So Why Was I Kicked Out for Carrying a Jewish Pride Flag?" *Haaretz*, June 26, 2017: www.haaretz.com/us-news/why-was-i-removed-from-dyke-march-over-jewish-flag-1.5488777.
32 Collier Meyerson, "Can You be a Zionist Feminist? Linda Sarsour Says No," *The Nation*, March 13, 2017, www.thenation.com/article/can-you-be-a-zionist-feminist-linda-sarsour-says-no/.
33 Women's March, "Guiding Vision and Definition of Principles,": https://static1.squarespace.com/static/584086c7be6594762f5ec56e/t/587ffb20579fb3554668c111/1484782369253/WMW+Guiding+Vision+%26+Definition+of+Principles.pdf.
34 Blabbeando, "Louis Farrakhan: Central America's Remaining Anti-Gay Sodomy Statute Must Not Be Repealed." YouTube video, 2:57, March 10, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tkOUP8YCor4.
35 JoinTheNationofIslam, "Farrakhan speaks about Family & Homosexuality," YouTube video, 10:11 September 23, 2009, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrRBc-fWBgQ.
36 Women In The World Staff, "Ayaan Hirsi Ali Says Controversial Women's March Organizer is a 'Fake Feminist,'" *Women in the World*, February 2, 2017, http://nytlive.nytimes.com/womenintheworld/2017/02/02/ayaan-hirsi-ali-says-controversial-womens-march-organizer-is-a-fake-feminist/.
37 Linda Sarsour (@lsarsour), Twitter Post, March 1, 2011, 5:24am, https://twitter.com/lsarsour/status/42575904601411584.
38 Linda Sarsour (@lsarsour), Twitter Post, May 12, 2015, 8:12pm, https://twitter.com/lsarsour/status/598327052727615488.
39 Linda Sarsour (@lsarsour), Twitter Post, January 28, 2015, 8:21pm, https://twitter.com/lsarsour/status/560653839477780481.
40 Linda Sarsour (@lsarsour), Twitter Post, January 28, 2015, 8:18pm, https://twitter.com/lsarsour/status/560653103004139520.
41 Michael Pearson, "First Women Elected to Office in Saudi Arabia," *CNN*, December 14, 2015, http://edition.cnn.com/2015/12/13/world/first-women-elected-to-office-in-saudi-arabia/index.html.
42 Martin Chulov, "Saudia Arabia to Allow Women to Obtain Driving Licences," *The Guardian*, September 26, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/26/saudi-arabias-king-issues-order-allowing-women-to-drive.
43 Yasmina Hatem, "Arranged marriages 'alive' in Brooklyn," *Al Arabiya News*, December 21, 2007, https://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2007/12/21/43183.html.
44 Nicole Brown, "Crown Heights Riots of 1991: A Look Back at Gavin Cato's Death and the Racial Unrest that Followed," *AMNewYork*, August 18, 2016, https://www.amny.com/news/crown-heights-riots-of-1991-a-look-back-at-gavin-cato-s-death-and-the-racial-unrest-that-followed-1.12184841.
45 Jonathan Greenberg, "Black Lives Matter's hypocritical anti-Semitism," *The Washington Times*, August 23, 2016, https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/aug/23/black-lives-matters-hypocritical-anti-semitism/.
46 "Migrant slavery in Libya: Nigerians Tell of Being Used as Slaves," *BBC News*, January 2, 2018, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-42492687.-